

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

LABOR'S RELATION TO THE WORLD WAR

ADDRESS BY

W. B. WILSON

SECRETARY OF LABOR



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If I was to compress into a single sentence my belief of the greatest need of our country, I would say that our greatest need is the spirit of self-sacrifice for the common good—a sacrifice of our pride, sacrifice of our prejudices, sacrifice of our suspicions against each other, sacrifice of our material comforts, sacrifice of our lives, if need be, in order that the democratic institutions handed down to us by our forefathers may be continued unimpaired to our children so that they can continue to work out their own destiny as we have been working out ours, unimpeded by the autocratic powers of Europe.

PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE.

Our people is a peace-loving people. If we had not been a peace-loving people we would not have stood the indignities and wrongs that were heaped upon us as long as we stood them. We had dreamed of a continuation of peace. We had been inspired by the words of the poet, and longed for the time to come

When the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags are furled
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

But our dreams were rudely shattered, and, against our will, in spite of ourselves, we have been dragged into the great European conflict. When the war broke out in Europe your administration at Washington was anxious that we should keep clear of the entanglements. When Great Britain seized our vessels upon the high seas and haled them into courts as prizes, we believed it be in violation of international law. We entered a protest and claims for damages. When Germany seized some of our vessels and haled them into court we also entered a protest and laid our claims for damages.

LIKE QUARRELING NEIGHBORS.

We felt that these nations were like neighbors quarreling against each other, not for the moment susceptible to reason, but that when the war was over they would return to their normal conditions and then we could make our claim upon both of them for the damages they had done to our country. But Germany did not end with the hailing of our vessels into prize courts. She began a system of submarine warfare, sinking our vessels without warning, destroying the lives of our people without giving them an opportunity to save themselves. That was an intirely different situation. There are

methods by which we can indemnify for the loss of property; there are methods by which you can restore property once it has been destroyed, but there is no method known to man by which we can restore human life when that has been taken.

We protested vigorously to Germany against that system of warfare that destroyed the lives of our people, and Germany agreed to desist. Again we were hopeful that we would be able to get through without being engaged in the conflict. But in January, the very end of it, we were given a brief notice by the German Imperial Government that they would again resume their submarine warfare, again destroy the lives of our people without warning. There was no other course left to us but to defend the lives of these people.

PART OF THE PROBLEM.

I know that amongst our own people the claim was put forth that no man should be permitted to go upon these vessels as a passenger, taking the chance of having his life destroyed and thereby endangering the peace of his own country, and that our country should prohibit passengers from going upon vessels. But that was only a part of the problem. Suppose that we had as a Government, as a people, said to those who desired to travel upon those vessels as passengers, "You must not travel upon those vessels, or, if you do, you do so at your own risk." We would not then have solved the problem, because there were the seamen to take into consideration, the sailor upon the bridge, the fireman and the engineer in the hold, the cook and the steward, and the vast numbers of men who daily earned their bread in manning the vessels. Even if we had taken the passengers off, we would then have been placed in the position of having to abandon our overseas trade altogether or of supporting, maintaining, and defending our sailors in their right to earn their bread in their daily vocation. I don't know what your judgment may be in the matter. I know what my judgment is, what the judgment of the administration was, and that is that the sailor earning his bread before the mast is just as much entitled to the protection of the United States Government as the most wealthy millionaire.

"ONE VESSEL A WEEK."

In the notice that Germany gave to us she very kindly said that she would permit us to send one vessel a week to England by way of Falmouth, provided that the vessel was striped like a barber pole and went by a given route. That was not our Government imposing its will upon us; that was not our Congress saying to us as a matter of precaution and safety that we must only send one vessel a week to England; it was not our Congress or our President speaking to us with authority granted to them by us, but it was the Kaiser, through his chancellor, undertaking to impose his will upon the people of the United States. No more autocratic action could have been taken by any autocratic Government on earth than the action of directing us how we should handle our business in its minutest details.

GERMAN ESPIONAGE.

But undertaking to impose its will upon us in that manner was not the only action on the part of the German Government that demonstrated the policy it desired to pursue toward our country. During the period of the European war it had systematically organized an espionage system in our country that not only sought to find out what we were doing, but it undertook to blow up and destroy our manufacturing institutions with the lives of the people who were working in them in order that the British Government and the French Government should not secure munitions and supplies. All over our country it was not safe for any workingman to be engaged in any of these institutions. His life was at stake. Some of the German representatives connected with that diplomatic corps were given their walking papers because of these actions; others of them are serving time in our penitentiaries. So that it is no mere assertion to say that that line of policy was pursued by the German Government.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

I know that even then some of our people alleged that we should not manufacture those munitions; that we should not send those munitions abroad to Russia, to England, to France, to Italy, to any of the belligerents other than Germany. They said the quickest way to end the war was to prevent the sending of munitions. Did you ever hear the story of the band of men—bandits—who raided a town? They were armed to the teeth. The inhabitants were unarmed with the exception of a few small sidearms. The citizens of the town who had arms gathered themselves together to resist the bandits who had come for the purpose of looting the town. They were having difficulty in holding out, and they sent some of their neighbors to an adjoining town to get some arms and munitions, and the people of the adjoining town immediately divided and some of them said, "We are neutral in this quarrel; don't let these citizens have any guns or ammunition. The bandits will soon clean the other town out and the quarrel will be over." They succeeded. No munitions were sent to help the citizens defend their town. The bandits did raid the town, loot the town, then disappeared. But in a very short time they appeared in the town that considered itself neutral and refused to send the munitions to the aid of the neighboring town, and they looted that town also. Would you want our country to be placed in that kind of a position? Of course, with 40 or 50 years of preparation, with guns and munitions and trained men galore, Germany was in a position, if the other nations could find no guns or munitions, to override all other countries, and that would be the termination of the war. But what of the future? But that was not yet all.

INTRIGUE EXPOSED.

Shortly after that time the correspondence was laid bare relative to the intrigue between Germany and Mexico and Japan. Germany sought to engage the Government of Mexico to come to her assistance, and as a bait held out to the Mexican Government it proposed to hand back to Mexico all of the territory now part of the United

States that formerly belonged to Mexico. That included Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. And then Germany held out as a bait to Japan, to get her assistance in making war upon the United States, that Germany would hand over all of the balance of the territory that formerly was Mexico—that is, the State of California, and in addition to that all of the Pacific coast of the United States and back into the interior as far as the eastern line of Montana. Fortunately for us, the Governments of Mexico and Japan were friendly toward us, and the scheme of the Imperial German Government failed of execution.

GERMANY'S DESIGNS.

Now, what was the purpose of endeavoring to secure Mexico and Japan to come to her assistance? First, that she might dismember the United States of America, that she might parcel it up, that she might take from the United States that young, vigorous manhood and womanhood of the West and place them under another governmental jurisdiction. Then if Germany succeeded in carrying out her design of a great central European empire with great overseas colonies, if Germany succeeded in winning the present war and taking over the British, the French, the Italian, and the Russian fleets, naval and commercial, it would then be in position to dominate the commerce of all the seas of the world, and if the United States would not submit to that domination would be in a position to bring her great trained army onto our shores, and compel us to submit. Under those circumstances there was only one course left for the United States to pursue in defense of democracy, in defense of our own democracy and that of the other democracies of the world. That was to take up the cudgel and declare war upon the barbarism that was seeking to impose itself upon us and to carry that war, as we will carry it, to a successful termination.

HUMAN INSTITUTIONS.

We have no quarrel with the German people. The German people have no quarrel with us. Our quarrel is with the Imperial German Government that has sought to impose the power of militarism upon the people of the world rather than the will of the majority. Our institutions are dear to us. Our forefathers sacrificed much to establish them. They are not perfect by any means. They are human institutions. They have the imperfections of human institutions. We do not move as fast as some people think we ought to move; we move faster than other people think we should move; but from the time of the Declaration of Independence until the present moment, whenever a majority of our people have seriously and earnestly desired that any proposition be enacted into law we have always found a method by which that majority could have its will expressed. To those people who believe that we are not moving fast enough I simply have to say that the difficulty is that you have not convinced the majority that the course you are suggesting is the course that should be pursued. To those of you that think we are moving too fast I have this to say: Whatever your individual judgment may be, the majority has expressed its will, and the will of the majority should rule in democracies.

NOT CAPITALISTS' WAR.

There have been some of our people here and there who have asserted that this is a capitalists' war, that it is a Wall Street war, that it is a munitions manufacturers' war. I wonder if those people have stopped to examine the policy that has been pursued by the Government since war was declared, and before it was declared, before they made utterances of that kind. If this is a capitalists' war, then it follows that the administration at Washington—Congress and the President—have been dominated by capitalism, and, if they were dominated by capitalism in declaring war, it would follow that they would be dominated by capitalism in pursuing the war. And yet, what are the facts? Instead of permitting the capital of the country to secure profits at will, one of the first powers granted to the war administration was to fix the prices at which capitalists should sell the products of labor, the selling price of coal at the mines was fixed, the price of wheat was fixed, the prices of certain metal products were fixed, the price of copper was fixed, but in no instance has there been any attempt on the part of the administration to fix the maximum price that should be paid for labor. And when it came to fixing the price of copper at $23\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound the only stipulation that was included by the War Industries Board handling the proposition was that the fixing of the price at $23\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound must not result in the lowering of the rate of wages that was established under the former prices. And yet there are people who, in the face of these facts and hundreds more that I might cite if I would take time, want to intimate that this is a capitalists' war, a Wall Street war, and a war of the munitions manufacturers. My friends, this is a war of the people of the United States for the preservation of their institutions. And for the purpose of preserving these institutions we are gathering together armies. We are sending the flower of our youth into the training camps and over the seas into France to protect those who remain at home.

CONDITIONS CHANGED.

Under former methods of warfare, the methods pursued in years gone by, an army might travel through an enemy's country and sustain itself while it marched, receiving a comparatively small amount of munitions needed for the employment of a small number of people at home. To-day the condition is changed. We not only need the fighting forces at the front, we not only need the boys in the trenches, who are willing to sacrifice their lives in defense of our institutions, but we need the organization of the forces at home for the protection of the material necessary for their defense, and if those boys are willing to go there and make the sacrifice of their all, the sacrifice of their lives, if need be, in defense of your home and my home, of your liberties and my liberties, surely we who remain at home ought to be willing to make some sacrifices of our pride, of our prejudices and of our suspicions in order that we may have the full benefit of our man power in preparing the material by which the boys of our country may defend themselves. As I said to a portion of your people here the other day, I have three sons and eight nephews who are to-day under the colors. They are likely to be sent to the trenches

at any time. They are taking their chances, and if any mishap comes to them over there I shall grieve for their loss; I shall grieve for their injury, as you will grieve for the injury or the loss of your boy. But if that loss comes, or if the injury comes, in the course of the regular struggle, where they are supplied with all munitions, where they are taken care of as they should be taken care of, then my grief will be mingled with a spirit of pride that members of my family have made part of the sacrifice necessary for the maintenance of our institutions. But if loss of life comes to them, if injury comes to them, because they, like the Russians in Galicia, have not been supplied with the necessary material to properly defend themselves, then with the grief in my bosom will be a feeling of shame that my countrymen were not willing to make the necessary sacrifices in order to produce the material with which the boys could fight.

MUCH MATERIAL NECESSARY.

A tremendous amount of material is necessary to properly equip our armies at the front. To secure this equipment will require the most perfect organization of our forces at home and the highest possible standard of efficiency. It will require that our industrial disputes be abandoned, at least until the war is over, not by the process of crushing the worker or the employer into submission, but by the process of doing justice to both parties and to the public at large. A great deal has already been done by the Government in that direction. Adjustment committees have been introduced in a large number of industries, whose decisions are final and binding on both parties. In a number of industries truces have been arranged between the employers and the employees for the period of the war. The mediation service of the Department of Labor is working out the settlement of many hundreds of disputes, principally before they reach the strike stage and consequently before they have any news value for the public press. Still more comprehensive plans are under consideration by the Council of National Defense, which, if put into operation with the approval of the great masters of industry and the trade-unions of the country, will eliminate all serious trouble until we have disposed of the common enemy.

Our greatest difficulty has been the attitude of mind of employer and employee, but as soon as both realize that our institutions are at stake in the issues of this war, and that sacrifice on the part of every one for the common good is the great essential duty, we have not had much difficulty in bringing them together and adjusting their disputes.

WHY WAR AS MEANS OF SETTLEMENT OF NATIONAL DISPUTES WAS REPUGNANT TO AMERICAN LABOR.

[Prepared by E. P. MARSH.]

During the past decade the sentiment of American labor had crystallized against resort to arms as a means of settlement of disputes between nations. War had come to be believed as wasteful economically, socially, and morally. Labor felt that no national

advantage gained through force of arms could offset the human life sacrificed, the burden of taxation levied upon successive generations to pay the cost of war, the standards of life set back or destroyed, which had to be rebuilt slowly and with infinite sacrifice. In short, war had come to be looked upon as morally wrong, entirely unnecessary, a calamity that could be avoided and must be avoided if the race was to progress. This feeling was shared to a greater or lesser extent by the workers of all civilized nations, and there was a universal feeling in world labor ranks prior to the outbreak of the European war that this sentiment, shared by many thoughtful people outside the ranks of the wageworkers in all civilized nations, was strong enough to prevent any armed conflict which would involve any number of peoples. This sentiment was undoubtedly responsible for the lack of military preparedness, in the sense that Germany prepared, among the other major powers now engaged in the world conflict. The preparedness of Germany was known to the statesmen and diplomats of other countries, but public opinion in the world at large, obsessed with the belief that conflict was impossible, would have overthrown any government which attempted to commit its people to any militaristic program larger than that which its people had accepted as necessary for national police protection.

EFFECT OF OUTBREAK OF EUROPEAN HOSTILITIES UPON LABOR SENTIMENT IN AMERICA.

When the war clouds broke in Europe American labor was stunned. All its preconceived notions as to the inability of any great nation to wage war upon another nation because the working people would refuse to either fight or produce munitions and supplies of war were shattered when nation after nation quickly mobilized its armies and the organized-labor movements of each country, without exception, quickly pledged their men and their resources to the support of their respective governments. But the fact that America itself might be drawn into the world conflict was still foreign to the mind of the American workman. While American labor grieved over the fate which had befallen its kind in Europe no sense of danger to this country was apparent. From the beginning of this Republic it had been our national policy to hold aloof from the quarrels of the Old World. Thousands of miles from European shores we had preempted a new continent. The vastness of its natural resources to our national mind offered an asylum for the oppressed of Europe, a great melting pot for the common peoples of the earth where under the protection of a great democracy they might build their family altars, worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, free from the oppressions of imperial and autocratic systems of government. The splendid isolation of thousands of miles of ocean protected us. We had no quarrel with Europe and we asked but to be let alone. We stood upon our rights to protect the people of continental America from invasion or aggression as enunciated by the Monroe doctrine, and further than that we could not see that the European conflict embroiled us as a nation. Let Europe settle her own family quarrel. We were to remain the one great neutral nation of the earth. When the time

came America, untrammelled by participation in the conflict, with no desire for American aggrandizement nor territorial expansion, would be the natural messenger of peace to war-worried Europe. This latter thought was the administration view in the early stages of the war, the hope of President Wilson himself.

We had assimilated in this country millions of peoples from all the warring nations. Germany had contributed her sons and daughters in large numbers. They were classed A1 among our incoming immigrants. Frugal, law-abiding, readily assimilable, they had brought to this country all the attributes which apparently make a nation great. They contributed to our arts, to our sciences, to our industries. The German people are essentially a domestic people, and the virtue of the family tie was accentuated by the immigration of the German to America. Every hamlet in America had its quota of German families, good citizens, big hearted, and our impressions of Germany were the impressions gained by every-day contact with these simple, honest folk. It is easily understandable, therefore, that the thought of a war with Germany was a monstrous nightmare. What quarrel had we with such a race of people? We could not imagine the people living in Germany as being so very much different from those who had emigrated to our soil. We argued that it would be a great moral crime to wage war upon a people such as these within our borders, and our social contact with our citizens of German birth and ancestry made the thought of such a war unspeakably wrong. We were at fault in that we did not make a painstaking analysis of the contrast between the forms of government in Germany and America, a study of the political history of the two countries. Such an analysis and study would have made many things clear to us which for so long seemed inexplicable.

GERMAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT VERSUS AMERICAN.

No one denies that American history down to the present date furnishes its glaring examples of inequalities and injustices. We have had and still have our plague spots in American industrial and social life. We shall probably never be a perfect democracy. Man's inhumanity to man will crop out in all human relationship. There is no desire to excuse nor condone the things that have been done in this country that are black blots upon civilization. But with all our imperfections, industrial wrongs, and social ills, the big fact stands out that this is the most perfect democracy yet conceived upon the face of the earth. Nowhere else on earth is the same power to right injustice and wrong by sane, constructive action granted to the people of any nation. When a majority in this country become convinced that a certain governmental policy is best for the people, an expression is found for that belief. If a certain policy has not been adopted, it is because the minority has not been able to convince the majority that it is right or seasonable. American government is founded upon majority rule. It is recognizable that a majority may be wrong or misled, but the myriad avenues of information and education invariably in time lead the majority to the sound, logical way of thinking, despite the efforts of those who would mislead, and the right method of solution finally wins its appeal to a majority of the citizenship and the thing desired is obtained. This is because the humblest citizen in the land is the State.

This form of government needs to be sharply contrasted with the German form of government to understand the sharp contrast. The most patent contrast is between the office of President of the United States and the Emperor of Germany. The President of the United States executes the will of the people of the United States. His views may be in contradistinction to the views of the people. He must convince the people that he is right and they are wrong, else he and his party will be overthrown at the first election. The German Kaiser rules through the law of heredity, a procedure accepted by the German people through centuries. No power save force of arms can dethrone their ruler. Through the centuries the German people have been taught that their Emperor ruled by divine anointment. The most deep-seated instinct in man is the religious instinct. Through all the changing epochs of human advancement, the principle of divine right of rule has been held uppermost in the minds of the people. Little by little as the political demand for self-government as a means of expression of human wants and needs has spread through the world, it has had its reflex in Germany by an extension of the right of suffrage and added political expression to the people, but the theory of divine right of kingship has never been deviated from a hair's breadth by the ruling house of Germany. Through centuries an autocratic cabal has been built up and about the ruling house of Germany. Might, not right, has been the foundation upon which Germany's ruling power has planned and builded. There comes a time in the history of all nations when the ruling power has to justify its methods to its own people, if those methods seem to differ sharply from the methods of other nations. As democracy gained ground in other countries and peoples gained the right of determination of their own destinies, the German Government found it must prove its own theory of autocratic government. The German Imperial Government in that period had visions of a world empire, not content with its narrow geographical boundaries. From the beginning of time man has clung tenaciously to the spot of ground he has called his own, no less true of men in the mass than of individuals. The fiercest wars in history have been for possession of the earth's surface, the means of subsistence of mankind. Subjugation of peoples which brought territorial expansion has in all the history of the world been finally consummated by force of arms.

The German rulers of that day mapped out a campaign of conquest, but with it all realized that conquest comes to the best prepared state, and that the greatest asset of a state is a united people that can stand the supreme test. Men will fight for the perpetuation of ideals and the imperial statesmen and kingly advisers of that age sought to impress upon the German masses the ideal of a strong, centralized, autocratic government as being the best assurance of their daily well being. It was with this in mind that the system of agrarian and industrial reforms took root in Germany, rooting in the beneficent care of the state. Germany led the world in her system of social and industrial reforms, throwing around the common citizen the protecting arm of the state, building in the mind of the German citizen a belief in his autocratic, centralized government as the source from which all blessings flowed. Through succeeding generations this policy was pursued until the German citi-

zen of humble birth looked upon the state as the source from which he received the things which made life bearable. Having firmly implanted that belief in the mind of the German citizen, it was a natural and logical step to the belief that any clash between his autocratic government and the government of any other nation threatened his own physical well-being. There you have the whole story of the loyalty of the German people and people of German ancestry to the government of the land of their or their ancestor's birth. This we failed to take into account in the early stages of this war, and failing this we failed to fathom the German people.

THE GERMAN POLICY OF AGGRESSION.

The German Imperial Government never recognized the principle of arbitration as a settlement of international disputes. When the Government of the United States, through The Hague conferences, sought to negotiate treaties between nations with arbitration as the determining factor in the settlement of international disputes Germany blocked the way. She recognized but two means of settlement, viz, diplomacy or war, never arbitration as the last resort of settlement. When the present world conflict was precipitated she violated the neutrality of Belgium with a brutal impunity that startled the world. No blacker page in history has ever been written than the German invasion of Belgium. No historian will ever live that can paint that picture of ruin and desolation as it actually exists. Beneath the soil of that outraged land molder the bodies of Belgium's people, who in all their lives committed no crime against individual or state, victims of German outrage. Sold into slavery worse than death, by the thousands, Belgium's womanhood cry aloud for vengeance. Throughout Belgium and northern France cities lie waste and desolate, the noblest works of art and statuary desecrated by the German horde, a blackened, smoking, deserted land bear testimony to the ruthlessness and fury of German autocracy. Were there no other claim to American chivalry, the ruin the house of Hohenzollern has brought to that land would cry aloud for American sympathy.

"But," the American pacifist will say, "even that does not excuse America's entry into the war. Better that Europe carry to its fruition its war of extermination than American lives be lost in the world holocaust and America abandon its century-old policy of non-interference in the affairs of European nations. Germany does not threaten the United States."

As if the ravishment of Belgium, with all its horrors and its violation of international treaties, were not enough, Germany began an era of frightfulness upon the seas. All the diabolical ingenuities of the Spanish inquisition, the war upon the Aztecs, do not surpass the inhumanity of Germany's submarine warfare. It were not enough that actual combatants should be slain; women and children who had no part in this war were sent to watery graves by the demon that lurked beneath the waves. There are those who maintain that America should have abandoned her overseas commerce; that American travels had no business in the war zone. From time immemorial it has been the common agreement among nations that neutral nations should have free right to the seas for their commerce in war as in

time of peace. If these ships carried contraband of war, it was the right of Germany to hale them into a prize court and upon established guilt confiscate them as the prize of war. Germany had no right, moral or legal, to fire without warning upon a ship of a neutral nation and send its human cargo to the bottom without a chance on earth to establish guilt or innocence. Suppose the United States Government had acted as some wished and prohibited American citizens from traveling within the war zone. Even then the fact remained that by time-honored agreement the ships of neutral nations had a right to travel the seas freely in the carrying on of the world's commerce, subject only to search and seizure for contraband as established by the law of nations. The great Government of the United States owed its protection as much to the humblest seamen in the fore-castle in the pursuit of his livelihood as to the captain who trod the bridge. If the Government of the United States had cravenly yielded to the dictate of the German Imperial Government that American ships could sail only upon a certain date and by a given route, it would have yielded a right that would have brought down a storm of protest from our own citizens and merited the despoliation of every other nation on earth. We protested against this barbarous method of warfare upon the part of Germany, and Germany promised reparation. And then came the notice that she would resume her submarine warfare upon neutral shipping without warning. It was to all intents and purposes a declaration of war upon the United States.

Nor was this all. Not content with sinking American shipping and taking American lives, Germany inaugurated a reign of terrorism in our own country. She was caught red-handed in the plot to destroy American manufacturing establishments needed in production, sow the seeds of unrest and dissatisfaction among our industrial workers, promote strikes and industrial discord, and destroy the morale of America's industrial army—as truly a part of the Nation's defense as the boys we are sending to the trenches of France.

Nor was this all. Again she was caught red-handed plotting with friendly nations to turn their resources against the United States, in return for which Germany, if successful, promised to partition off the western half of the United States and cede it outright to the countries she was trying to negotiate with. These nations were friendly to the United States, and Germany's plotting went for naught, but it does not alter the damnable fact that in so doing Germany was warring upon the United States.

NOT A WALL STREET WAR.

For a considerable time the feeling has been prevalent in this country that all wars were fought in the interests of the capitalist class: that labor had everything to lose and nothing to gain by engaging in war. This sentiment has obtained not alone among the laboring classes but among a large element of independent thinkers outside of labor's ranks. The sentiment was freely expressed when America entered the world war that Wall Street, being heavily involved in loans to the allied European nations, and feeling the war going in favor of the central powers, had plunged this Government into the conflict to assure victory to the allied forces and thus secure

the collection of their loans to the allies. The sentiment was echoed and reechoed upon the public rostrum and upon the street, in all sincerity upon the part of many, in the shallowest hypocrisy upon the part of the agents of Germany, who saw in the propaganda an effective argument in the program of dissension among American workers. A little calm reflection ought to convince every thinking person that American capital had most to gain by keeping the United States out of the war.

Before we entered the war there was no governmental restriction upon war profits in this country. Europe was at its wit's end for supplies and turned to the United States, the greatest manufacturing country on earth. Price was no object if the American manufacturers could deliver the goods in record time. There was profiteering in those days and on a tremendous scale. When American entered the war things changed. It would be an insult to your intelligence to say that profiteering has ceased—for it has not—but it has tremendously decreased. The United States Government has arbitrarily fixed a selling price at which many of the leading commodities may be sold, and that price is far below the price asked and obtained for the same commodities to the allied nations before America entered the war. Governmental price fixing is still in its initial stages. The process is slow because we little realize the tremendous ramifications of American industry, all the complex factors that enter into cost production in our great industrial system. The United States Government wishes no manufacturing or supplying concern to run at a loss, nor does it want the worker robbed of his rightful share. It takes time and careful, scientific study to determine all the elements of cost production and determine a selling cost that will be fair to all, but that is the policy of the Government in its program of price fixing of commodities needed in war prosecution and the sustenance of the American people on a decent living basis.

If this were a war engineered and controlled by Wall Street it would be fair to assume that the Government while fixing the selling price of commodities would also fix the selling price of labor. It is worthy of note that in not a single instance in this country has the Government attempted to say what should be the maximum price of wages. In every instance where a wage dispute has existed in a war industry the Government, if called into the dispute, has used patience in inquiring into the nature of the dispute and has endeavored to adjust the controversy on a basis acceptable to the workers involved.

A WAR OF IDEALS.

This is emphatically not a capitalistic war as far as the United States Government is concerned. It is a war of ideals. With Germany it is a war to perpetuate the absolute rule of the State over the destinies of its subjects. Under the German system the State sets itself up as the final arbiter over the lives of its citizens, with or without their consent. It claims, through the theory of Divine right, to be intrusted by Providence with all the affairs of its subject people. In the secret diplomacy with other nations the common people are not consulted, their wishes given a moment's consideration. Peace or war depends not upon the wishes of the people but upon the whim of the House of Hohenzollern. German imperialism means govern-

ment from above, handed down to the people with or without their consent.

This is decidedly not democracy. Democracy is the judgment of the mass of the people as to what shall constitute rules of life and conduct, expressed through their representatives, by whatever method chosen, and administered in the interests of the masses by chosen representatives responsive and responsible to the mass of the people.

The conflict is deeper than sweating, straining armies, the roar of musketry or shriek of shell. It goes down to the very roots of human society, it determines the relationship of every man, each with the other, upon this earth. In the unthinkable event that the German ideal should win, humanity would lose all it has gained in centuries of toil and sacrifice. A descent to the dark ages of the past, when brute physical strength determined the strata of society, is unthinkable and will not occur, else this is an age of retrogression and not progression.

LABOR THE DETERMINING FACTOR IN THIS WAR.

There has never been a war in history in which the mechanical, inventive, productive genius of man has played such a part. It is melodramatic in its combination of brain and muscle as applied to all the stagecraft of war. It is no longer the shock of body against body, the impact of missile in the human frame. Science, mechanical skill, and muscular energy play a part never dreamed of in any war since the dawn of history. Water, earth, and air all witness the titanic battle of the centuries. Could the greatest generals of centuries gone, the greatest strategists in the art of war, be again transplanted to earth and witness the present world spectacle, they would be in a world utterly unknown. We are sending the pick of our manhood to the French front, there to uphold the tradition of American arms. That they will fight like demons and die like heroes we know, for the American soldier is the equal of the world's best. From "over there" will come ere long the story of their heroism, the honor roll of those who will pay the last great price that this Nation may endure. Not they alone will fight the battles of democracy, though generations yet unborn will sing the praises of heroic deeds and mourn the memory of departed heroes. In the workshops of America, down in the bowels of the earth, on the soils of America's farms, in the countless homes throughout the land must this war be fought and won. American labor, working tirelessly at its appointed task, will do its yeoman task in winning this war, and without that labor the sacrifice of the boys in sunny France is wholly lost.

The man or set of men who would traffic in the necessities of a people or mulct the Government out of undue profits in this Nation's hour of stress is a traitor to the country whose protection he claims. By the same token the man or set of men who would stir up strife and dissension in American industries for no other purpose than to hinder the Government in its prosecution of this war should be branded with the same brand of traitor. This country has no room for either.

A DANGEROUS PROPAGANDA.

There is a propaganda in various sections of the country, fallacious, subtle, dangerous to industry in peace times, doubly so when the country needs the maximum production of its industrial forces.

Its philosophy is that the capitalist system is wholly wrong and must be overthrown, but instead of the orderly methods of education and legislative enactment, it seeks to create chaos in the industrial world. By a continual harassment and annoyance, lessening of efficiency in production, in devious ways and by questionable methods it seeks to reduce the profits of employers and hasten the day when private capital will relinquish the means of production and distribution of wealth and the workers will collectively operate and manage industry in general. It is distinguished from the political propaganda of collective ownership in that the latter believes that state of society will come about only as society in general accepts through education the theory and puts a stamp of approval upon it by means of the ballot. The trades-unionist, even while he may accept the philosophy of collective ownership and management of industry, believes that as long as private ownership remains, the best interest of the worker can be best maintained by entering into mutual contractual relationship with his employer and mutually agreeing to certain terms of employment for a given time. He holds that agreement to be sacred and binding during his life and gives to his employer the maximum of his productive ability, believing that the greater quantity of wealth produced means more to be divided between workman and employer. His concern becomes, then, not to hamper nor slow down production, but to secure for his labor as large a share of the wealth produced as possible, recognizing that under the present system the employer is entitled to reasonable profits, and if the business will not return those profits it will not long operate. The first-named propaganda frankly wages war upon capitalism and draws no distinction in its philosophy between big or little employers of labor. All must go down together in a common wreck before collectivism can be established, and it has no time nor patience for political methods and repudiates the agreement method of the trade unions as a means through which capitalism retains its hold upon the industries of the country. It finds a ready ground for its propaganda in those industries where workmen are given the least consideration by their employers. Where men are denied the right of organization, where onerous conditions of labor prevail, where the standards of life are low, where the means of redress of real or fancied grievances are lacking, men are inclined to be sullen and resentful in their attitude toward their employers and to be distrustful of society at large and give ready ear to the doctrine which preaches war upon society, at the same time holding out an appaarent panacea for all the ills and injustices of our social life.

PROPER RELATION OF LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Employers generally will agree that labor ought to be well fed and clothed and housed, but too many of them deny to labor the right to itself have a voice in fixing the conditions under which it will function. Labor is classed as a commodity, in the same category as brick, or steel, or iron, or other inanimate objects, and to be trafficked in in the same way. Capital too often wishes to be the sole judge as to all the conditions surrounding labor, fixing the terms under which labor will be bought and sold as it does any other commodity. Labor, being animate, endowed with the faculties of reasoning, wishes to

work out its own destinies in its own way by a measurable control over its own functioning power, the only means it has of sustaining life. It is the clash of these two ideas of social relationship that has been responsible for the long drawn out feud between capital and labor. Each side must recognize two great principles if capital and labor are to be coordinated in this war for world democracy. Labor must recognize that while it is employed it owes it to society that the maximum power of labor consistent with the maintenance of mental and bodily vigor be given to the task in hand. Capital must recognize that it has no property right in the labor power of man. Under existing society it may have a property right in the product of labor power, but no property right in the labor power itself. It can not be bought arbitrarily with no voice given to labor as to the terms of sale.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING A MODERN NECESSITY.

The day is long past when business institutions can live and prosper as individual units. Industrial life has ramified in so many directions, modern demands of society based upon new and complex standards of life have made it necessary for business to combine and pool its resources and its activity. It is an unreasonable and untenable position for modern industry to assert for itself its right of combination and deny that right to the laboring people. That the forces of labor and capital must be coordinated if this war is to be won goes without saying. This can not be done unless labor and capital can come to a mutual agreement concerning their relationship. Labor, denied the right of self-expression, always feel itself aggrieved, is never an efficient force because of the discontent which lies smoldering beneath the surface and which may at any time break out in disastrous strikes and other industrial disturbances. If labor is to be a partner with capital in the welding of a nation that shall conquer German autocracy, a recognition of the rights of labor to be consulted on the terms of partnership is essential. The extension of the principle of collective bargaining throughout American industry will do more than any other thing to help win this war, and the sooner the captains of American industry recognize that fact and carry its application into effect, the sooner this war will be over.

MAINTENANCE OF ACCEPTED LABOR STANDARDS.

Labor rightly demands that the accepted standards of labor shall not be broken down. The reasons for this correct attitude may be briefly enumerated. First, they have to do with the health and vitality of the worker and dependents. The physical conditions surrounding the laborer at his work and in his home determine his fitness to perform his allotted task. If he is illy nourished, illy sheltered and clothed, or working amid unsanitary surroundings and beyond his normal strength his productive power deteriorates and that lost labor power is a direct loss to his country at a time when it is needed most. To say the least it would be inconsistent to proclaim as the war aims of America the spread of democracy among the nations of the earth and reduce or take away those things

from our own people which are reckoned the direct fruits of democracy. If in the exigencies of this war there comes a time when there seems no help but to set aside temporarily some established labor standard labor will make the sacrifice if convinced it is necessary to defeat the common enemy. Labor rightly will not consent to the lowering or removal of standards if it believes that private capital and not the common good of the country is to be the beneficiary of such a sacrifice.

A COMMON PATRIOTISM AND A COMMON SACRIFICE.

There are men in the ranks of capital who are shamelessly profiteering out of the necessities of the people and taking advantage of the dire needs of the Government to extort unholy profits. There are a few men in the ranks of labor who are preaching disloyalty and discontent and aiding the Kaiser as surely as though they were bearing German arms. But there is another side to the shield that gives us belief that the spirit of the country at large is sound, its loyalty unquestioned. Labor in the mass has always been loyal to its country when that country in extremity called for the supreme sacrifice. In all our wars labor has poured out its blood in defense of the flag. Labor, whether on the battle ground or in the factory that made the guns has bent its back to the task of winning through. In this war, as in all other wars in American history, labor is going to the front trenches to meet the hail of German shot and shell. Twenty-one thousand members of the United Mine Workers of America are to-night under the colors. Hardly a home that has not sent its loved one away, and many a workingman's home will mourn its dead before this contest is over. Labor has faith in the patient, silent man in the White House, who bears upon his shoulders the sorrows of one who loves not peace less but honor more. It believes in the war aims voiced by our great President and in the justice of our allied cause. It will bear the acid test of loyalty and love to American ideals and institutions, now in clash with the imperious will of the German war lord.

Nor does this supreme thing for which men will give up everything, this acid test of a man's love of country, stir only in the breasts of working men. In every walk of life, in the mansion of the wealthy as well as in the lowly dwelling of the poor, this spirit is manifest to-day. Thousands of men whose names count big in the world of trade and finance have given up their private business and turned their talent, their genius, and directive power over to their country without recompense nor hope of pecuniary reward, touched by the impelling spirit of patriotism which awakened from its sometime slumber, demands alike of fame and fortune and lowly station the same meed of service and of sacrifice. The sons of the rich lie beneath the Army tent to-night side by side with the sons of the poor. To-morrow they will "go over the top" together, and their blood will mingle in the soil of France. Together they will bear the hardships and share the joys and sorrows that soldiers know and soldiers share when all the past matters not in the task that confronts them. The spirit of democracy will work its leaven among the boys over yonder, and who shall not say that when the conflict ends and America's young men come home to work out the problems of peace, a better humanity will dawn.

It is for us at home to stent the hearts of those we send abroad; it is for us to see that needless blood shall not be sacrificed because we failed to provide for them; it is for us to see that they shall have a land to come back to when it is over, in which they may again take up the callings of peace, while opportunity for man to achieve and have holds wide the door for their returning; it is up to us while they are gone to keep aglow the hearthstone.

They may be gone "for a long, long time," but when they do come back let it be to a better America than they knew before their going, an America purged from avarice and selfish greed through the fires of a great sacrifice.

INDUSTRIAL SAFETY.

The subject of accident prevention, embodying also efficient and prompt first-aid care of the injured, has two distinct sides, viz, humanitarian and utilitarian. The needless waste of life and limb in modern industry may be reckoned first in human suffering and pain to the injured, loss of support to the dependents of the injured workmen; second, loss in efficiency in production and aggregate production of the things necessary to man's comfort and welfare.

A careful estimate prepared by Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America, shows that in 1916 there were approximately 22,000 persons killed in industrial accidents and that at least half a million were so seriously injured that they lost more than four weeks from work. * * * In the past ten years if the number killed in accidents each year had been as low as it was in 1916, the lives of 220,000 industrial workers have been snuffed out. If that 220,000 had been buried in a single trench, side by side and shoulder to shoulder, that trench would now be more than 80 miles long and would have to be lengthened 8 miles each year to accommodate the remains of the poor unfortunates. * * * If the hospital cots of those seriously injured in the 10 years could be placed end to end in a continuous, unbroken line, that line would completely cover a single railroad extending as far as from New York to San Francisco and back again.—*Proceedings National Safety Council.*

Statistical reports from the many States in which workman's compensation laws are operative show a very large percentage of accidents to be nonmechanical, accidents that might have been prevented by a proper understanding of the common rules of safety. Unquestionably many accidents occur because of the element of bodily or brain fatigue caused by excessive hours of excessive exertion, where the hand and brain lacks coordination for just that fraction of a second necessary for an accident to occur. Regulation of hours and other trade restrictions necessary to keep the workman in normal bodily and mental vigor during his hours of employment can prevent that class of accidents.

The class of accidents due, however, to ignorance of common rules of safety, or carelessness on the part of employee, or disregard of the necessity for intelligent study and application of "safety-first" rules and principles by employers, can be almost, if not entirely, eliminated. The problem must be approached by both employer and employee in a spirit of cooperation, a feeling that each is contributing to the thing most desired in industry—the preventing of preventable industrial accidents and the human conservation of life and limb.

In its relation to successful conduct of the war the question of industrial safety bears a new and tremendously important aspect. No war in history has made such calls upon the industrial worker. It is a war fought out in the machine shop, mills, and factories of America. If the men at the front can not be supplied with munitions and all the supplies needed to maintain an army at the front, opposed to the most scientifically equipped army ever known, then Germany wins. Every American workman withdrawn from industry by accident or death at a time when the maximum man power of America is needed, lessens just that much America's ability to keep that huge war machine in effective operation.

These stand to-day the safeguard of our Nation, and on their loyal service depends the success of our allied armies at the front, fighting our fight for humanity—for world democracy.—*Proceedings National Safety Council.*

ORGANIZED LABOR.

As a whole still unorganized for safety.

One would be shortsighted, indeed, if in this field alone he did not recognize a work well worth a lifetime of devotion.

As we see it, also, safety is but the entering wedge whereby a better understanding can be developed between the employer and the employee. With it must come a frank discussion of one vital problem, the solution of which works for their mutual benefit.

Having found that the cooperative plan really works for the good of all in this one instance, does it not stand to reason that the circle of application will grow, become larger and larger until, through faith in each other, the contending forces will be led out of the wilderness of strife and misunderstanding into the promised land of industrial peace—made a fact through a square deal for all.—*Lew R. Palmer, president National Safety Council.*

WORK OF CONCILIATION BUREAU OF DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

[Fifth Annual Report of Secretary of Labor.]

WORK OF THE PRESENT YEAR.

On July 1, 1916, 21 mediation cases were pending and 357 additional requests for mediation have been made, bringing the total number for the fiscal year to 378. Of this number 248 cases have been adjusted, 47 proved impossible of adjustment, 41 were settled before arrival of the commissioner or disposed of without the Department's intervention, and 42 were pending at the close of the fiscal year.

These cases embraced controversies in nearly every State of the Union—in exact figures, 43 States, together with Alaska and Porto Rico. From 5 States only came no requisition for the good offices of the Department.

A majority of the employers and employees involved in industrial controversies evinced a keen desire to secure the good offices of the Department of Labor through its conciliators, and to take advantage of the machinery created under that section of the organic law of the Department, the purpose of which in this field of its activities has been the fostering of industrial peace on a basis of industrial justice. During the four years the Division of Conciliation has been in existence the foundation has been laid to aid materially in the

quick adjustment of such disputes. It had been demonstrated that the intervention of an impartial third party in the person of a conciliator approved by the Department invariably has expedited the settlement of a dispute which had culminated in a strike or a lockout. In a large number of instances the conciliators have been able not only to bring about agreement in cases of existing differences—often arising from misunderstandings—but to avert the threatened strike altogether.

The anxiety of the Government, particularly at this time, for a full production from mine, mill, and factory in order that the war progress of the United States and our allies might be unhampered caused the commissioners of conciliation to strain every effort to secure satisfactory adjustments in all labor controversies, with the special purpose of preventing wherever possible any stoppage of work and consequent loss to the country in output and to the workers in wages. Vastly increased production has been thus facilitated. It is often the case that employers refuse to deal with committees representing their own employees; but even in these instances there never is a refusal to meet and discuss the merits of the dispute with the conciliators of the Department. The opportunity thus afforded each side to learn the real position taken by the other soon bears fruit. This knowledge, or glance over their respective fences, usually enables the conciliators, by tactfully impressing the mutuality of interest and such equity as exists in their respective claims, to reconcile the differences.

The success which has attended the Department's representatives in the great majority of disputes has been most gratifying. In many instances through the efforts of the Department strikes which would have involved thousands of workers engaged in great operations were quietly averted and industrial peace maintained. All this was accomplished without publicity and the consequent excitement which invariably attends industrial disturbances when heralded in the press. Great plants thus secured uninterrupted production for stated periods—some of the agreements running for a year and others for the period of the war.

Requests for conciliators have come to the Department from governmental agencies as well as from unofficial employers and employees. These applications increased fourfold in an amazingly brief period following the declaration of war. The encouraging element developed in almost all these controversies was the sincere desire evidenced on all sides not to proceed to such extremes as would result in an embarrassment to the Government. The Department's representatives fostered this spirit to the utmost, and thus were able to render vital services at a critical time.

The Department and its commissioners of conciliation have rendered every assistance possible and cooperated to the fullest extent in the adjustment of controversies affecting all matters brought to its attention by the Department of War, the Department of the Navy, the Council of National Defense, the Shipping Board, and the War Industries Board, as well as by all other commissions which have been created for the conduct of the war. In every instance the sole purpose and policy of the Department has been to secure the results desired, namely, the settlement of all controversies in order

that industrial peace may reign—a condition most beneficial in times of peace, but of vital importance in time of war. It has been the policy of the Department of Labor not to endeavor to impose its viewpoint upon either the worker or the management in any dispute that may arise, but rather to find some basis mutually acceptable even though it may not be mutually satisfactory. In other words, the work of mediation is not a judicial work; it is not a judicial function; it is not to hear both sides and then determine the rights and wrongs of the situation, or to pass judgment and then enforce its decision. The work is diplomatic rather than judicial, and it is in that spirit that problems of conciliation in labor controversies are approached.

In line with this purpose the conciliators often are able to remove the barriers which prevent employers and employees meeting on common ground, and thus the way is paved for more friendly relations and a broader grasp of their respective rights. The fact is brought home that there is another side, and even in the absence of immediate success the seed has been sown which bears fruit in some modification of working conditions or a greater consideration for the human rights of employees and a better understanding of problems which harass employers.

Labor has discovered that it has a standing in the Government machinery of its country whenever its demands are based on its industrial and constitutional rights. Employers, on the other hand, have found in the Department a defender against unreasonable exaction.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S DECLARATION OF WAR AIMS.

OUR PROGRAM.

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed, in whole or in part, by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guaranties given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent

determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

INDEPENDENCE FOR POLAND.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

DECLARATIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR, ADVISORY COMMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

[Adopted by the Council of National Defense.]

The defense and safety of the Nation must be the first consideration of all patriotic citizens. To avoid confusion and facilitate the preparation for national defense and give a stable basis upon which the representatives of the Government may operate during the war, we recommend:

First. That the Council of National Defense should issue a statement to employers and employees in our industrial plants and transportation systems advising that neither employers nor employees shall endeavor to take advantage of the country's necessities to change existing standards. When economic or other emergencies arise requiring changes of standards, the same should be made only after such proposed changes have been investigated and approved by the Council of National Defense.

Second. That the Council of National Defense urge upon the legislatures of the States, as well as all administrative agencies charged with the enforcement of labor and health laws, the great duty of rigorously maintaining the existing safeguards as to the health and the welfare of workers, and that no departure from such present standards in State laws or State rulings affecting labor should be taken without a declaration of the Council of National Defense that such a departure is essential for the effective pursuit of the national defense.

Third. That the Council of National Defense urge upon the legislatures of the several States that before final adjournment they delegate to the governors of their respective States the power to suspend or modify restrictions contained in their labor laws when such suspension or modification shall be requested by the Council of National Defense; and such suspension or modifications, when made, shall continue for a specified period and not longer than the duration of the war.

There seems to be some misunderstanding of the scope of the statement made by the Council of National Defense when it advised "that neither employers nor employees shall endeavor to take advantage of the country's necessities to change existing standards." In order that that misunderstanding may be removed, the following explanation is made:

There have been established by legislation, by mutual agreement between employers and employees, or by custom certain standards constituting a day's work. These vary from 7 hours per day in some kinds of office work to 12 hours per day in continuous-operation plants. The various States and municipalities have established specific standards of safety and sanitation and have provided inspection service to enforce the regulations. They have also established maximum hours of work for women and minimum age limits for children employed in gainful occupations. It is the judgment of the Council of National Defense that the Federal, State, and municipal governments should continue to enforce the standards they have established unless and until the Council of National Defense has determined

that some modification or change of these standards is essential to the national safety; that employers and employees in private industries should not attempt to take advantage of the existing abnormal conditions to change the standards which they were unable to change under normal conditions.

The one other standard that the council had in mind was the standard of living. It recognizes that the standard of living is indefinite and difficult to determine, because it is in a measure dependent upon the purchasing power of the wages received remaining the same. It believes, however, that no arbitrary change in wages should be sought at this time by either employers or employees through the process of strikes or lockouts without at least giving the established agencies of the Government—the mediation board in the transportation service and the Division of Conciliation of the Department of Labor in the other industries—an opportunity to adjust the difficulties without a stoppage of work occurring. While the Council of National Defense does not mean to intimate that under ordinary circumstances the efficiency of workers is the only element that should be taken into consideration in fixing the hours of labor, safety, sanitation, women's work, and child-labor standards, it is the object that must be attained during the period when the Nation's safety is involved. It may therefore be necessary for the council, as a result of its investigations and experience, to suggest modifications and changes in these standards during that time. It is not the purpose of the council, however, to undertake to determine the wage rate that will be sufficient to maintain the existing standards of living. That should be referred to the mediation agencies of the Government above referred to or to such other constituted agencies as may exist, to the end that such questions may be adjusted in an orderly and equitable manner, to avoid the stoppage of industries which are so vital to the interests of the Nation at this critical time. This is no time for rocking the boat.

APRIL 23, 1917.

Excerpt from statement made by Secretary of Labor Wilson at a conference between the Secretary of Commerce, William C. Redfield; the Secretary of Labor, W. B. Wilson; and John Williams and Walter Larkin, representing the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers; James Sullivan, representing the labor committee of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense; and Grant Hamilton, representing the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary WILSON. The Council of National Defense takes this position: That the standards that have been established by law, by mutual agreement, or by custom should not be changed at this time; that where either the employer or the employee has been unable under normal conditions to change the standards to their own liking they should not take advantage of the present abnormal conditions to establish new standards. Among those standards is the standard of living. The Council of National Defense recognizes the fact that the standard of living is an indefinite standard, difficult to determine, that it is almost entirely dependent upon the rate of wages retaining the same purchasing power. If the wages received will not pur-

chase as much, then the standard of living is lowered. If the wages received will purchase more, then the standard of living is increased. Because of the indefiniteness of the standard of living and the maintaining of it at the same point, the council recognizes the fact that from time to time disputes will arise as to what is necessary to maintain that standard of living, but it feels that before any stoppage of work takes place in any industry in which the Government is interested for the maintenance of safety that the established agencies of the Government should be given an opportunity to use their good offices to bring about an adjustment of the impending dispute.

Now, there is only one point aside from the wage question in which your organization is especially interested in connection with standards, and that is the question of recognition of the union. That is the one burning question in which, aside from these other questions, you are involved. I do not know the attitude of the other members of the council on this particular point, but my own attitude is this, that capital has no right to interfere with workingmen organizing labor any more than the workingman has a right to interfere with the capitalists organizing capital. The two are on a parity on that point, and so my feeling is that in the present emergency the employer has no right to interfere with you in your efforts to organize the workers into unions, just as you have no right to interfere with capitalists organizing capital into corporations. If you can get a condition where efforts to organize the workers are not interfered with and where a scale of wages is recognized that maintains the present standard of living, it occurs to me that for the time being no stoppage of work should take place for the purpose of forcing recognition of the union. Of course, that would not interfere with the employers and yourselves entering into any arrangement for recognition that might be mutually agreeable.

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE FOR LABOR AND DEMOCRACY.

[Headquarters, 280 Broadway, New York.]

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy submits to all the American people the following statement of the purposes which called it into existence, the principles it seeks to inculcate, and the purposes it aims to achieve:

We uphold as fundamental the ideals of democracy and internationalism, politically as well as industrially. There are also the fundamental principles and ideals of the American labor movement, and we hold further that never was the active assertion and maintenance of these ideals more urgently needed than at this time.

As believers in the great and splendid vision of democracy and internationalism, the fraternalism and solidarity of all peoples, we assert at this time our unqualified loyalty to the Republic of the United States of America and our determination to do all that lies in our power to win the war in which it is engaged.

Loyalty to the ideals of freedom, democracy, and internationalism requires loyalty to America.

Disloyalty to America in this crisis is disloyalty to the cause of freedom, democracy, and internationalism.

No national selfishness impelled this Republic to enter the war. The impelling motive was the consuming idealism born with the establishment of this Republic itself to preserve freedom not only for itself but for all nations, great and small, and the body of international law which all the free democratic nations of the world respect and observe and only the brutal autocracies seek to dishonor and destroy. In such a conflict real standard bearers of democracy and true internationalists can have no hesitation in supporting our Republic, which has made its own the cause and interests of all free peoples. It is therefore in truth not a "capitalists' war," but a freemen's war.

Fully impressed by these facts, realizing that a noble internationalism is implicit in our American conception of national existence, it shall be our purpose to bring to the support of the Government all the moral and material power of the working class of the Nation. It shall be our task to interpret America's democratic spirit and purpose in this conflict to our fellow workers, especially those of foreign birth, and to combat every form of propaganda, no matter by whom it may be carried on, which tends to weaken the loyalty and devotion of the masses and their willingness to strive and sacrifice for the Nation and its high purposes.

We shall strip the mask from those who in the name of democracy, antimilitarism, and peace are engaged in the nefarious propaganda of treachery to all that these noble words represent. We indignantly repudiate the claim that this propaganda—which, be it remembered, brings joy and comfort to German autocracy—has the support of the labor movement of America. Not even at the behest of the so-called people's council will the organized workers of America prostitute the labor movement to serve the brutal power responsible for the infamous rape of Belgium—the power that would subject Russia to a worse despotism than that of the Romanoffs.

Democracy will not be served by the victory of autocracy, by letting the Declaration of Independence be supplemented by the Kaiser's fiat.

Militarism will not be checked by surrender to the power which has organized all the resources of civilization to the end of imposing its brutal iron rule on the world.

Peace will not be secured to the world through the subjection of the free and democratic nations.

We shall be as loyal to the struggle for freedom and democracy at home as to the struggle for freedom and democracy in international relations. We harbor no delusions. We know that even in this great democratic nation of nations war inevitably brings its abuses. Efforts to lower the standards of employment may be made. Attempts may be made to invade our democratic rights. Against these evils we shall strive vigorously and successfully as we contend against the menace of German despotism. Moreover, as the exigencies of the war develop new opportunities to increase our political and industrial democracy and to extend the influence of labor in the control of government and industrial affairs we shall seize these opportunities.

We point to the fact that this constructive work for democracy at home is being carried on by the American Federation of Labor with

a measure of success which the most hopeful among us hardly dared dream was possible. It is no exaggeration to claim that already more has been accomplished by the federation than the so-called people's council can ever hope to accomplish—more, even, than it has either the understanding or the imagination to demand. On every board and mission created for war purposes organized labor is represented by representatives of its own choosing, and in nearly every contract let by the Government union labor conditions and wages are provided for. This is a great achievement, and we are confident that there will be no retracing, but advancing of the strides forward thus taken.

To the men and women of the American labor movement and to all sincere friends of democracy and internationalism we call for loyal support to America and her allies in this great struggle. Let us make our beloved Republic strong and victorious for the sake of humanity, and thus insure for our children and their children the priceless heritage of liberty and democracy. Let us at the same time stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight against the foes of democracy within our own borders, resolved never to rest until the goal of democracy, industrial, political, and international, has been attained.

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy brings this challenge to the brain and conscience of America, supremely confident of an enthusiastic and loyal response to America's call for service and sacrifice, and thus assure to the people of America and all the peoples of all nations opportunity for justice, freedom, and democracy.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Chairman.

FRANK MORRISON,
Vice Chairman.

ROBERT MAISEL,
Director and Secretary.

Advisory board: J. P. Holland, Robert P. Brindell, David J. Berry, W. L. Small, Hugh Frayne, William Kohn, Chester M. Wright, Ernest Bohm, Joseph Barondess.

ONE WAY TO HELP.

If the organization to which you belong believes in the principles and ideals here given expression, present this resolution for indorsement and then notify the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy:

Resolution adopted by the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy at its meeting in New York City July 28, 1917:

It is the sense of this conference that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics, or religions, faithfully and loyally to support the Government of the United States in carrying the present war for justice, freedom, and democracy to a triumphant conclusion, and we pledge ourselves to every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose.